

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

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Three-Year Report

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

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May 31, 1956

A REPORT ON THREE YEARS' WORK

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FOREWORD

After two years of study and consultation with more than a thousand of the country's best known and best informed citizens, the Trustees of the Ford Foundation identified in 1950 the areas of current human needs to which it proposed to devote its resources. Among these was the need to help to remove restrictions and infringements on freedom of speech and press, freedom of religion, freedom of inquiry and freedom of thought.

The Fund for the Republic is a result of this judgment. The Fund, established as a separate and independent entity, has sought to examine whether there has been an erosion of our ancient liberties, to investigate and seek to alleviate racial and religious discrimination, and to provide the basis for a wider understanding of the role of our heritage of freedom and justice in developing a strong and enterprising America. The policies and programs of the Fund have been determined by the Board of Directors.

The Board of the Fund took the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and its Bill of Rights as its main guides and began operations in February, 1953. The results of these efforts up to this time are described at length in the pages that follow.

For the first several months of its career the Fund was operated largely by Committees of the Board. In August, 1953, Clifford P. Case became president. When Mr. Case resigned in the spring of 1954 to accept nomination for the United States Senate from New Jersey, he was succeeded by Robert M. Hutchins.

In May, 1956, the Board of the Fund reviewed all its activities and suggested that this detailed accounting of its work up to May 31, 1956 be published. Despite the occasional and inevitable mistake or failure, the Board believes that the work of the Fund has been urgently needed and well done.

The Board is grateful to the many church groups, educational institutions, voluntary organizations and individual scholars and workers who have made the following record possible.

For the Board of Directors:

PAUL G. HOFFMAN, CHAIRMAN

THREE-YEAR REPORT

The Fund for the Republic was incorporated in December, 1952, as a result of a decision made by the Ford Foundation to establish a separate organization to defend and advance the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The initial grant made by the Foundation was \$1,000,000. In February, 1953, the Foundation appropriated \$14,000,000 additional for the Fund.

Although each member of the Board of Trustees of the Ford Foundation formally approved the selection of each original member of the Board of Directors of the Fund, it was understood that after incorporation the Fund was to be completely independent of the Foundation.

Since the date of its incorporation, the Fund has spent \$5,414,201.

This report presents an account of its work from its creation to May 31, 1956.

A statement made by the Fund to the Ford Foundation in February, 1953, has served as a kind of charter for the Fund. It proposed two immediate projects:

~~"A clear statement in contemporary terms of the legacy of American liberty,"~~ and
"research into the extent and nature of the internal Communist menace and its effect on our community and institutions."

It outlined five areas of immediate interest:

Restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom

Due process and the equal protection of the laws

The protection of the rights of minorities

Censorship, boycotting and blacklisting activities by private groups

The principle and application of guilt by association

The Fund has touched on all the areas mentioned in this statement. It has used a wide variety of methods of dealing with these problems. It has sponsored fact-finding studies, public-opinion polls and competitions. It has awarded fellowships and grants-in-aid and made grants to religious, educational, fraternal and other voluntary organizations. It has explored the use of the media of mass communication.

In the light of the experience of the past three years, the work of the Fund may be briefly classified into five main categories:

1. *To study Communism in the United States*
2. *To work for equality before the law and equality of opportunity*
3. *To make the Bill of Rights a living document*
4. *To maintain due process and the principles that underlie it*
5. *To maintain freedom of speech and belief*

These headings cover what the Fund is doing, and why. The Fund is studying Communism in the United States in order to determine its influence, direct or indirect, on civil liberties. The Fund regards Communism as a threat to civil liberties, but it was not organized solely to oppose Communism: it was organized to study and disclose the facts about all threats to civil liberties, including Communism. Work in race relations involves issues of due process, yet is primarily directed to establishing equality of opportunity—the principle that no man should suffer educational or economic penalties because of his race. The third category involves the distribution of material about the Bill of Rights and education in the principles of freedom. Studies of loyalty-security programs, Congressional investigative procedures and blacklisting in the entertainment industry have been undertaken in order to insure justice for the *individual*. Activities concerned with censorship, freedom to read, the performance of the press, etc. are directed toward securing the right of the *community* to have all opinions expressed and debated so that public policy may be informed, the truth may prevail and encroachments on the rights of privacy and conscience may be resisted.

The largest single appropriation of the Fund has been made for the study of Communism in the United States. The largest cumulative expenditure has been in race relations. Almost every religious organization has received assistance in its efforts to solve this basic problem. The Southern Regional Council has been granted the largest sum of money that has gone to any single beneficiary.

Since the Fund is an educational corporation, the methods it employs are those appropriate to an educational institution. The Fund assists those who are using educational methods to inform the people of their rights and the state of those rights at the present time. Some of the largest grants made by the

Fund have been to the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund and organizations associated with it in the Freedom Agenda program. This brought lively discussion of civil liberties to more than 600 American communities.

As the work of the Fund has developed, it has tended more and more to take the form of studies and reports made wherever possible by established tax-exempt agencies, or, if such an agency is not available, through individuals and groups independent of the Fund. The reports of individuals in the ordinary case contain no conclusions or recommendations: they are statements of the facts. Such reports are those of Adam Yarmolinsky on the loyalty-security program of the Federal government; of John Cogley on blacklisting and of Paul Lazarsfeld and Louis Harris on the intimidation of teachers. The reports of these writers are their own. The Fund vouches for the integrity of the authors and for the importance of their studies. It does not take responsibility for their selection of facts or for the accuracy of their statements. All the individuals undertaking to study and report with the assistance of the Fund, and all the commissions established by it, do so on the understanding that they are free to conduct their investigations and make their reports in accordance with their own best judgment without regard to the views of officers or directors of the Fund.

The same rule holds for organizations that receive grants from the Fund. The grant is made because the Fund thinks the subject is important and the grantee responsible. Conclusions and recommendations, like those of the committee of the American Bar Association that studied Congressional investigations, are those of the grantee. The Fund finances a study by an organization because the Fund believes that the organization is qualified to get the facts and that its opinions on the facts will merit the attention of the public.

The nature of philanthropic or educational activity is such that an estimate of success or failure is difficult. Some of the work sponsored by the Fund has clearly had the effect intended. The Freedom Agenda program has promoted widespread discussion of civil liberties; the Stouffer report has brought out useful information about the attitudes of Americans toward Communism and Communists; the Newsfilm Project has shown the television audience episodes in the current history of freedom that it might otherwise have missed; the churches and the Southern Regional Council are forces working toward a peaceful

and moderate adjustment to the decision of the Supreme Court on segregated schools. These random examples of "success" from different fields can be duplicated many times in this report. On the other hand, the Fund has not succeeded yet in devising satisfactory means of using the media of mass communication for education about civil liberties; its efforts to promote adult education through discussion groups have not all been as successful as Freedom Agenda; important problems remain untouched because of lack of time or because attempts to cope with them have failed; and some of the actions of the Fund have been misinterpreted because they have been stated in such a way as to be open to misinterpretation.

The Fund is the only foundation of considerable size that is working, or that ever has worked, exclusively in the area of civil liberties. It is a pioneer venture in uncharted and dangerous territory. The following pages will provide the reader with a basis for judging whether in its first three years the Fund has made progress toward its goals.

✓
**SURVEY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD
COMMUNISM AND CIVIL LIBERTIES**

TOTAL EXPENDED: \$164,865

From the outset the Directors of the Fund regarded it as self-evident that Communism was a major factor affecting civil liberties. Although Americans feared and distrusted all things Communist or Communistic, the depth of this feeling was unknown. It also appeared that civil liberties were being violated in the name of anti-Communism. The Board decided to find out what Americans knew about Communism and civil liberties and how they felt about them. It commissioned the most thorough-going "single-subject" survey undertaken up to that time and put it in the hands of Prof. Samuel A. Stouffer, of the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard.

Almost 5,000 people were polled by the American Institute of Public Opinion and the National Opinion Research Center for this survey. These polling groups administered a questionnaire formulated by Mr. Stouffer, who had the services of a distinguished advisory committee.*

The results, compiled in a book called *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties*, were published by Doubleday & Company in April, 1955. Mr. Stouffer's main findings were summarized in a *Look Magazine* series.

In his introduction to *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties*, Mr. Stouffer invited students interested in U. S. opinion in early 1955 to make use of the thousands of cards on which his findings are recorded. Many students have availed themselves of the invitation.

*The committee members were: Frank Stanton, President, the Columbia Broadcasting System; Porter R. Chandler, Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Sunderland & Kiendl, New York, N. Y.; Roscoe Drummond, Washington Bureau, *New York Herald Tribune*; Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; Alexander F. Leighton, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.; Logan Wilson, President, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

✓
**STUDY OF THE
COMMUNIST RECORD**

TOTAL EXPENDED: \$66,882

The Board's Committee on the Study of the Internal Communist-Menace recommended as a second phase the compilation of the "public record" of Communism in the United States. Prof. Arthur E. Sutherland, of Harvard Law School, agreed to take responsibility for preparing a bibliography and a digest of the leading court cases, statutes and Congressional committee reports, together with a microfilm collection of the complete record of the most important Com-

✓ **COMMUNIST RECORD**
(Continued)

munist trials. Mr. Sutherland was assisted by a committee that included Prof. Clinton Rossiter, of Cornell, Father Joseph M. Snee, of the Georgetown Law School, and Prof. Charles Fairman, of Washington University. Charles E. Corker, of the Stanford Law School, was staff director.

The Digest and Bibliography volumes were completed in February, 1955. Fifteen hundred copies of each volume have since been distributed to libraries, research centers and interested organizations and individuals. Ten sets of the micro-filmed records of important trials were placed in leading American research libraries.

In March, 1956 the Board authorized an additional appropriation for a revised version of the Bibliography (see page 18). It was understood from the beginning that for a study of these proportions revision would be necessary.

✓ **STUDY OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCES
IN MAJOR SEGMENTS OF U. S. SOCIETY**
TOTAL EXPENDED: \$158,068

In November, 1953 the Directors authorized a study of "Communist Influences in Major Segments of U. S. Society." Later, in June, 1954, it was suggested that the project might analyze Communist infiltration and indoctrination methods, together with an investigation of the methods used to resist them.

In August, 1954, Prof. Clinton Rossiter, of Cornell, was appointed director of the project. Mr. Rossiter assembled a group of scholars to prepare a series of books on Communist influence, past and present, in the United States.

Following is the list of subjects and authors selected to deal with them:

History of the Communist Party in the United States (1919-1945): Theodore Draper

Communism and Anti-Communism (1945-1956): David A. Shannon, Teachers College, Columbia University

Communism in the Labor Movement: Daniel Bell, *Fortune*

Communism and Religion: Ralph L. Roy, Union Theological Seminary

Communism in Government: Earl Latham, Amherst College

Communism and Education: Robert Iversen, Drake University

Communism and Literature: Daniel Aaron, Smith College

Communism and the Mass Media: Moshe Decter

✓ **COMMUNIST INFLUENCES**

(Continued)

Communism and the Social Structure: Nathan Glazer

Communism and Opinion-Making Groups: John P. Roche,
Haverford College

The first volume in the series is scheduled to appear early next year. Mr. Rossiter sums up the project this way: "We are not seeking espionage 'secrets' nor are we in any sense competing with any legally constituted authority. We are scholars plying our trade, just as journalists or Senate investigators ply their trades, in the only way we know how to ply it: by following every source as far back as we can trace it."

Among a large number of persons Mr. Rossiter and his associates have consulted is Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party in the United States. Mr. Browder has been paid for time spent being interviewed.

In March, 1956, Mr. Rossiter assumed responsibility for revising and updating the *Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States* and appointed Prof. Joel Seidman, of the University of Chicago, to direct the work.

✓ **STANFORD UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$25,000

The testimony given by a limited number of witnesses at Congressional hearings and in legal trials and proceedings has to some extent affected the general understanding of Communism in the U. S. Stanford Law School was given a grant to undertake an analysis of this testimony. The study was begun in the fall of 1955 by Prof. Herbert L. Packer, of the Stanford Law School.

At present Mr. Packer is collecting the testimony of witnesses, records of legislative hearings, administrative proceedings and judicial trials in Washington and elsewhere. Close textual analysis of this testimony has also begun.

✓ **BOARD OF SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF THE
METHODIST CHURCH—STUDY OF
CHRISTIANITY AND COMMUNISM**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$12,500

In December, 1955 the Fund approved a grant of \$25,000 to the Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church to assist in the financing of two studies: (1) The Challenge of Communism to Christianity; and (2) Social Thought and Action in the Methodist Church. The second study is described under Section V.

✓ **COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAM
OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$176,500

Projects financed by Fund grants to the AFSC have included educational work on school desegregation in the District of Columbia, expansion of job opportunities for Negroes in Greensboro, N. C. and Dallas, Texas, and partial support of an Indian program in the Southwest, including educational work on reservations and in Indian centers in metropolitan areas.

Fund support has amounted to only a small portion of the annual cost of the AFSC's work with Indians. In the main, it has gone to help Indians maintain their identity while developing their capacities to deal with the conditions imposed on them by white society and federal policies.

✓ **SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$445,000

The Southern Regional Council received a first grant of \$5,000 for the preparation and distribution of a popular condensation of the Ashmore Report, *The Negro and the Schools*, a comprehensive look at the structure of segregated education, published in 1954.

Later grants have supported educational programs in race relations throughout the South. The Council has strengthened its head office in Atlanta and organized Councils on Human Relations with interracial boards and staffs in twelve states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Headquarters and state groups have centered their efforts on bringing white and Negro leaders together to study school problems in the light of the Supreme Court decisions.

The Council has concentrated on building strong state organizations, so that each of its groups will be able to stand on its own feet when Fund support is terminated.

In February, 1956, the Council received a grant of \$50,000 for a nine-month program to analyze developments in southern race relations. The grant provided funds for part-time researchers and for coordinating, processing and distributing their findings. Activities include: a survey of registration, voting and disfranchisement techniques; studies of the leadership and aims of southern "resistance" movements and methods of economic pressure and reprisals.

COMMISSION ON RACE AND HOUSING

TOTAL EXPENDED: \$118,954

The Commission was established by the Fund to study the housing of minority groups. Housing problems, especially those of Negroes, were recognized as a source of interracial tension.

The Commission is composed of Earl B. Schwulst, Gordon W. Allport, Elliott V. Bell, Laird Bell, Rev. John J. Cavanaugh, Henry Dreyfuss, Peter Grimm, Charles S. Johnson, Charles Keller, Jr., Clark Kerr, Philip M. Klutznick, Henry R. Luce, Stanley Marcus, Ward Melville, Francis T. P. Plimpton, R. Stewart Rauch, Jr. and Robert R. Taylor, with Mr. Schwulst, President of the Bowery Savings Bank, as chairman and Prof. Davis McEntire, of the University of California School of Social Welfare, as research director. It held its first meeting June 28, 1955 and approved a plan of study that places emphasis on the housing difficulties of Negroes, Mexicans in Texas and the Southwest, Orientals in California, and Puerto Ricans in New York City. The Commission expects to report at the end of 1956.

✓ ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

TOTAL GRANTED: \$5,000.

[The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) is the educational arm of the Jewish fraternal organization, B'nai B'rith.] ADL, organized in 1913, has 26 regional offices.

In April, 1955, ADL sponsored a two-day National Conference on Human Relations Education, in New York. One hundred and fifty school officials, social scientists and social workers participated. The sessions dealt in a practical fashion with intergroup problems facing the schools in North and South.

This year ADL is conducting regional follow-up conferences throughout the United States.

[The \$5,000 was granted by the Fund to help pay traveling expenses of representatives from southern schools who will attend a Southwide Conference, ^{on human relations education} to be held in cooperation with the University of Oklahoma, in June, 1956.]

✓ PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

TOTAL GRANTED: \$10,000

This grant partially financed a study of the status of Puerto Rican and Negro children in the New York City public schools. The study was conducted under the supervision of

✓ **PUBLIC EDUCATION**

(Continued)

a PEA Trustees Committee, which contracted for the technical services of the New York University Research Center on Human Relations.

Their report was published in August, 1955. In general, it concluded that segregated housing patterns in the city were almost entirely responsible for the existence of all-Negro or predominantly non-white schools. With one or two possible exceptions, there was no indication that school district lines were drawn to prevent integration.

The New York City Board of Education accepted the report and appointed a Committee on Integration to examine it. This Committee set up subcommittees to work out the recommendations of the report in the following areas: school zoning, educational standards and curriculum, guidance and placement, personnel, community relations and physical plant. The Superintendent of Schools has conducted studies of school zoning problems as a result of the PEA report, and several school districts have been redrawn.

The PEA report has stimulated a number of other northern cities to consider undertaking similar investigations.

✓ **LEGAL DEFENSE AND
EDUCATIONAL FUND OF THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$50,000

The Legal Defense and Educational Fund received a general-purpose grant. Efforts have been concentrated on educating the Negro community about its rights and on legal action in defense of equal rights for Negroes throughout the United States.

A Committee of social scientists has been organized to aid the Legal Defense Fund in its educational work, including Alfred McClung Lee (Chairman), Brooklyn College; Gordon W. Allport, Harvard University; Stuart W. Cook, New York University; Bingham Dai, Duke University; Winston W. Ehrmann, University of Florida; Noel Gist, University of Missouri; John Kenneth Morland, Randolph-Macon Woman's College; Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University; Theodore Newcomb, University of Michigan; Arnold Rose, University of Minnesota, and some 30 other leading social scientists.

✓ **VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$100,000

The *Race Relations Law Reporter*, a bi-monthly publication, was designed to meet a need among lawyers, social workers and school officials for current material on court decisions, statutes, local ordinances and administrative actions in the field of school desegregation. The *Reporter* covers legal developments on all aspects of race relations throughout the country.

The first issue, published by the Vanderbilt Law School under the editorship of Prof. Paul H. Sanders, appeared early in 1956. In April Mr. Sanders announced that the paid subscription list was almost 4,000.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
TOTAL GRANTED: \$50,000

The League received a grant for the development of a two-year educational program to expand employment opportunities for Negroes in the South. Concentrating on twelve southern and border states and on such industries as tobacco, textiles, steel, electrical equipment, chemicals, petroleum and auto and farm machinery, the League will hold conferences, interview union leaders, make plant-by-plant visits and confer with the personnel heads of northern corporations which maintain, or are considering establishing, branch plants in the South.

A survey of employment in 265 southern plants employing 260,963 workers, of whom 26,550 are Negroes, has been completed. In April, 1956, the survey was reviewed by the League's Commerce and Industry Council with officials of the following corporations: Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), American Cyanamid Company, Western Electric Company, General Electric Company, Radio Corporation of America, du Pont Company, American Can Company, Pitney-Bowes, Inc., General Cable Corporation, Union Carbide and Carbon Corporation, and Popular Publications.

The League will hold a conference of southern and border-state branches at Fisk University, in June, 1956, to plan for their participation in the project. Special attention is to be given to new plants under construction or about to recruit workers. A study is being made of the availability of Negro workers in 15 southern states, including the number of Negro high-school and college graduates.

**PHILADELPHIA
FELLOWSHIP COMMISSION**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$2,000

[The Commission was given a grant to finance distribution of "For Fair Play," a half-hour film about discrimination against Negroes in industry, made under the sponsorship of the Governor's Commission on Industrial Race Relations of Pennsylvania.]

✓ **CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
OF CHICAGO**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$23,000

The Catholic Interracial Council has received three grants for educational programs to reduce racial discord in Chicago, particularly in Trumbull Park, scene of tension and violence since August, 1953, when the first Negro family moved into an all-white housing project.

The program of the Catholic Interracial Council reaches into all sections of Chicago and many suburban areas. Seven four-week workshops have been held in potential tension areas. A conference on "exploring the role of the (Catholic) laity in promoting better human relations in a democracy" was held in April, 1956. The following organizations participated: Archdiocesan Union of Holy Name Societies, Cana Conference, Catholic Guild of the Blind, Catholic Labor Alliance, Catholic University Club, Catholic War Veterans of Illinois, Christian Family Movement, Friendship House, Sodality of Our Lady, Young Christian Workers, Young Christian Students, Big Sisters and the Council of Catholic Women. The Interracial Council plans to establish an advisory committee of these organizations.

✓ **DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL
AND CULTURAL RELATIONS OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF
THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$40,750

A first grant of \$10,000 helped communities in Maryland, Delaware and West Virginia facing problems of school integration. It was administered by the Maryland-Delaware Council of Churches and the West Virginia Council of Churches. The projects supported were initiated in order to provide a service in states not covered by the Southern Regional Council.

The Maryland-Delaware Council of Churches has authorized its executive director to establish a program to strengthen the processes of integration by developing workshops in human relations, providing consultants, distributing educational publications, and setting up a library of film strips and slides.

✓ **RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS**

(Continued)

The West Virginia Council of Churches employed a part-time director for its project in December, 1955. Twenty white and Negro leaders have agreed to serve as consultants in helping communities throughout the state bring about integration in schools and churches in a "peaceful Christian way."

A small grant of \$750 given in January, 1956 supported a conference on problems of relief, placement and relocation arising out of the resistance movement to school integration in the South. Fifty-six persons from religious, welfare and intergroup-relations organizations met in Washington on February 17, 1956.

In March, 1956 a grant of \$30,000 was given for enlarged educational work in the South and administrative assistance in the national office.

✓ **RELIGIOUS DRAWINGS, INC.****TOTAL GRANTED: \$2,000**

[Religious Drawings, Inc., a non-profit organization in Waco, Texas, was granted \$2,000 to send a set of cartoon mats dealing with religion and the segregation issue to southern college newspapers, religious papers, Negro papers, and public officials.]

Religious Drawings prepares and distributes cartoons designed to adapt thoughts from the Bible to everyday life. Two drawings are issued each week to church papers and editorial pages of daily and weekly newspapers, at a nominal subscription price.

[Jack Hamm, head of Religious Drawings] has received a number of national awards for this syndicated feature, which serves 756 newspapers and magazines representing 16,000,000 readers in 42 states and 18 foreign countries. Mr. Hamm received the American Legion's Annual Editorial Award for the most patriotic cartoons of 1954, the Howard R. Smith Annual Award for outstanding service in Christian journalism (1952), the Tri-Lambda Annual Award for distinguished service in religious journalism (1953) and the Freedoms Foundation Award for the best cartoon of 1953 on behalf of American freedom.

**BOARD OF SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF THE
METHODIST CHURCH**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$25,000

This grant was made to support interracial conferences. One was held in Milwaukee in January, 1956 under the sponsorship of Bishops Matthew W. Clair, Jr., and H. Clifford Northcott. Population trends, housing, education, recreation, welfare facilities and church integration were discussed. Officials of state, municipal and private social agencies participated.

Other conferences are scheduled for Baltimore, Kansas City, Louisville, Atlanta, Detroit, New York, Texas, New Orleans and Indianapolis.

CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH

TOTAL GRANTED: \$15,000

[The Committee plans to establish interracial institutes to study the area of tensions in the South and to publish and distribute their findings.]

[Spring Hill College in Spring Hill, Alabama, has received \$2,000 from the Committee for the first of these institutes.] Additional institutes are planned for Louisiana, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky. Literature is to be distributed to persons in states where institutes cannot be held.

**✓ DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN RELATIONS,
BOARD OF CHURCH EXTENSION
OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$15,000

The grant has financed one-day institutes for ministers and laymen on Christianity and Race, the distribution of printed materials, scholarships for ministers and laymen who wish to attend institutes on race relations, and an educational film strip.

Five workshops were held in May, 1956, in Jacksonville, Memphis, Dallas, Charlottesville, and Charleston to find ways of improving race relations in the South.

**✓ DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL
EDUCATION AND ACTION,
BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION,
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$15,000

The Department received a grant to expand its educational work through a program of one- and two-day institutes for ministers and laymen, assistance for travel costs of many participants, literature, and a color motion picture of a lecture on southern regions and their social and economic problems by George Mitchell, director of the Southern Regional Council.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY, NEW ORLEANS

TOTAL GRANTED: \$10,000

[Loyola University received this grant to finance an educational project in connection with the integration of the parochial schools under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of New Orleans.]

[The Rev. Joseph H. Fichter, S. J., Professor of Sociology at Loyola University] and head of the Commission on Human Rights, a subcommittee of the New Orleans Archdiocesan Committee of the Catholic Committee of the South, is directing the project, which is [designed to provide educational materials for Catholic parents, teachers and priests.]

**STUDENT DEPARTMENT
OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF THE
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN
ASSOCIATION**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$20,000

**COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY DIVISION
OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S
CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$20,000

COMMUNITY DIVISION

**OF THE NATIONAL BOARD
OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S
CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$5,000

[The first two \$20,000 grants enumerated here will help the student groups of the National Y's to enlarge their efforts to provide counsel and assistance on southern campuses facing problems growing out of the Supreme Court's decision on school integration.]

[The \$5,000 grant to the YWCA Community Division will enable it to work with community YWCA's near "test case" colleges or campuses where special problems exist.]

**DEPARTMENT OF
CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
OF THE UNITED CHURCH WOMEN**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$10,000

[The United Church Women is a general department of the National Council of Churches. This grant will enable the Church Women to support 30 workshops in communities where there are special difficulties in race relations.]

The basic aim of the workshops is to help women in local areas learn how to deal with difficult interracial problems and participate in the education of local communities.

**COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL ACTION
OF THE CONGREGATIONAL
CHRISTIAN CHURCHES**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$31,480

This grant will support a two-year program in race relations, in Virginia and North Carolina. The Council will join with the Commission on Christian Social Action of the Evangeli-

✓ **CONGREGATIONAL
CHRISTIAN CHURCHES**
(Continued)

cal and Reformed Church for this experimental project. The two denominations have 458 churches in Virginia and North Carolina. The Evangelical and Reformed Church has 91 white churches; the Congregational Christian denomination, under separate regional jurisdiction, has 203 white and 164 Negro churches.

The program calls for a person-to-person approach to relations between Negro and white members. Two women, one white and one colored, will be selected as leaders of the program in each area. Their assignments will include giving encouragement and assistance to individuals who will work for integration; stimulating lay leaders and ministers to participate in the programs of such organizations as the Southern Regional Council, the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, and the Annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University; and arranging contacts between colored and white church groups.

**CHRISTIAN LIFE COMMISSION OF
THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$15,000

**NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$25,000

**UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY
SOCIETY OF THE
DISCIPLES OF CHRIST**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$15,000

[These grants support interracial programs similar to those undertaken by other religious organizations. In their several ways these religious groups are working toward the easing of racial tensions, North and South.]

✓ **SUMMER PLANNING COMMITTEE ON
THE LEGACY OF AMERICAN LIBERTY**

TOTAL EXPENDED: \$10,773

[A Summer Planning Committee was created under the chairmanship of Stanley Pargellis, of the Newberry Library in Chicago, in 1953. Other members of the committee were McGeorge Bundy, of Harvard, Ralph Gabriel, of Yale, Arthur Murphy, of the University of Washington, and Clinton Rossiter, of Cornell. Members of the committee employed assistants to prepare memoranda on specific topics during the summer.

(The Board adopted several suggestions made by the Pargellis group.) Some of the more important topics listed for Fund attention in the Committee's report were:

- [an analysis of public opinion;
- a study of "right fringe" extremists;
- an analysis of the meaning of citizenship (see account below of a book by H. Mark Roelofs on this topic);
- a philosophic analysis of the meaning of freedom today;
- a survey of the liberty of teachers in the public schools;
- the rights and responsibilities of Government employees.]

✓ **CORNELL UNIVERSITY**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$6,500

[Mr. H. Mark Roelofs, of Cornell, finished his book, *An Essay on Citizenship*, in January, 1956.] It will be published by Rinehart & Co. [In his preface Mr. Roelofs expresses the theme of his study this way: "... an examination of the concepts and values clustered around the term 'citizenship,' and of their condition in American social beliefs . . ."]

✓ **CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
MEMORIAL FUND**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$161,610

Since April, 1954 the Fund has made three grants to the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund for a national discussion program on the basic rights of Americans, entitled Freedom Agenda. More than 600 communities have taken part. The program has enlisted the support of such national organizations as the American Association of University Women, National Education Association, Campfire Girls, Junior League, and the American Jewish Congress. The League of Women Voters, which adopted "individual liberty" as one of its two program commitments for 1954-56, has been the most active organization in the program. Local chapters of other national organizations have participated.

✓ **CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
MEMORIAL FUND**

(Continued)

Most of the discussion groups have built their programs around seven pamphlets, prepared under the direction of the Freedom Agenda Committee:

The Bill of Rights and Our Individual Liberties: T. V. Smith

Where Constitutional Liberty Came From: Alfred H. Kelly

Freedom of Speech and Press: Zechariah Chafee, Jr.

Constitutional Liberty and Seditious Activity: Jack Peltason

The Constitution and Congressional Investigating Committees:

Robert K. Carr

The Constitution and Loyalty Programs: Alan Westin

The Fourteenth Amendment and Civil Liberty:

Richard A. Edwards

The original printing (50,000) of the first six booklets was exhausted and a second printing of 50,000 is now being distributed.

A pamphlet, *Men Came to America to Be Free But . . .* has been sent out to about 60,000 individuals. Another, *Discussion Cases*, by Alan Westin, illustrates issues presented in the booklets.

The Freedom Agenda Committee mails a monthly Newsletter to more than 3,000 civic leaders. Some Freedom Agenda groups have put on television-or-radio-programs; others have sponsored debates, forums and panels.

The members of the Freedom Agenda Committee directing the program are Miss Anna Lord Strauss, Chairman, Mrs. Helen Berthelot, Mr. John S. Coleman, Mrs. Orville Foreman, Mr. Paul H. Nitze, Mr. John B. Oakes and Miss Rosemary Park.

✓ **THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH
OF AMERICA**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$4,000

The Universalist Service Committee's program sent packets of materials, including 5,000 Freedom Agenda pamphlets, to 1,450 church group leaders to interest them in organizing discussion groups on civil liberties. Twenty conferences were then held on methods of making programs effective in local churches. Out of these came a "Constitutional Rights Manual" for discussion groups. This manual has been mailed to almost 3,000 Unitarian and Universalist groups, and to a number of secular organizations.

The Executive Director of the Committee reports that 200 Universalist and Unitarian churches and auxiliary organiza-

✓ **UNIVERSALIST CHURCH**
(Continued)

tions have conducted programs. Churches with adult classes and forums have incorporated suggestions on civil liberties into their schedules. The theological school at St. Lawrence University set up a course on the Freedom Agenda Program. In three towns pilot projects sought to discover how to promote the program in smaller communities. Ministers and lay leaders have been active in Freedom Agenda. College students belonging to the Universalist and Unitarian churches have promoted the use of the Service Committee's materials.

✓ **ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$7,500

[Two national staff members of the Anti-Defamation League have been assigned the task of directing the League's participation in the Freedom Agenda program.] As of April 1, these national and regional staff members had visited 30 cities and been in touch with more than 200 Freedom Agenda committees. [They have sought to initiate Freedom Agenda where no activity existed and to stimulate interest in communities where the Program was moving slowly.]

All the 26 ADL regional offices have received information on the Freedom Agenda Program; 22 have taken part by offering local groups suggestions for programming and lists of materials. B'nai B'rith lodges and chapters are cooperating with Freedom Agenda in 29 states.

✓ **NATIONAL BOARD OF THE YWCA**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$8,000

This grant was made to cover the purchase of Freedom Agenda pamphlets, preparation of a YWCA booklet and expenses of administration, conferences and travel.

This first expenditure was for packets containing eight Freedom Agenda booklets and *Your Freedom Is in Trouble* by Paul Lehman, which were used at three training sessions and distributed on request during the past year. More than 500 packets have been sent out.

A one-day training session was held in May, 1955, for the national professional staff. In June a training seminar was held for thirty YWCA leaders in Washington prior to the

✓ **NATIONAL YWCA**

(Continued)

annual Washington Seminar in Public Affairs. At the regular Public Affairs Seminar fifteen members of the training session presented a demonstration discussion and suggested various kinds of programs for local YWCA's. A third group of trainees consisted of students at the YWCA Summer School for Professional Workers.

Almost all the leaders of the June Institute have held important positions in Freedom Agenda in their communities. Others have directed discussions in the YWCA, or helped plan programs in civil liberties for various organizations. In addition to participating in discussions at their YWCA's, students who attended the summer school prepared a playlet based on the *Look* Magazine article "Security Risk," which has been widely used to arouse interest in civil liberties.

Last fall a special committee was set up to consider the most effective use of the remainder of the grant. It decided to convene a workshop of experienced leaders in the fall of 1956 for discussion of the problems of freedom as they affect the YWCA today. This exchange of experiences and ideas is expected to produce a practical handbook dealing with the problems that arise in local Associations.

AMVETS

(American Veterans of World War II)

TOTAL GRANTED: \$5,255

[AMVETS are now laying the groundwork for their part in Freedom Agenda. The National Executive Director is writing to officers, post commanders and members asking them to join existing projects where Freedom Agenda has not been organized. The National Speakers Bureau is being provided with material on the Program.] Each member of the Executive Committee has been directed to tell his state committee about plans for conducting discussions of civil liberties in the more than 1,000 AMVET posts throughout the country.

**WOMAN'S DIVISION
OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE OF THE
BOARD OF MISSIONS
OF THE METHODIST CHURCH**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$3,000

[The Division requested this grant to provide material, including Freedom Agenda pamphlets, for its regional workshops on civil liberties.] The Methodists have now held one training workshop and nine of the ten regional workshops

METHODIST CHURCH

(Continued)

described in the original request. Packets containing Freedom Agenda material have been distributed to 1,500 participants. In addition to the regional workshops, 31 sub-regional workshops have been held. It is expected that there will be at least 100 of these, with an average attendance of 100 people each, before the project is completed this summer. Most of the workshops have lasted for two days and have used speakers, films and publications to stimulate discussion. Approximately one-third of the discussion is concerned with civil liberties, strictly construed, and more than half the time is given to desegregation in schools and housing.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE YMCA

TOTAL GRANTED: \$6,000

[A grant of \$1,000 enabled the Public Affairs Committee of the YMCA to commission Saville Davis, American News Editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, to prepare a paper on freedom of inquiry, especially as it concerns young adults.] Mr. Davis' paper, "Toward Freedom and Security," was the subject of a forum at the May, 1954 meeting of the National Council of YMCA's.

[A second grant of \$5,000 was used to underwrite a printing of 10,000 copies of Mr. Davis' article in pamphlet form and enabled the Public Affairs Committee to expand its activities with the Freedom Agenda program of the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund.] In May, 1955 about 100 YMCA leaders met in Washington for a seminar on YMCA's responsibility in the civil liberties field. More than 80 per cent of the YMCA's in the U. S. have dealt with civil liberties through an open platform policy.

/ AMERICAN HERITAGE COUNCIL

TOTAL GRANTED: \$50,000

The Council received a grant to support its program of discussions devoted to producing a better understanding of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the writings of Jefferson and Lincoln. The major portion of the grant supported leadership training and other assistance to the Education for Freedom program of the Illinois Department of the American Legion. The remainder was for work in labor unions and public schools, and for assistance to other

✓ **AMERICAN HERITAGE COUNCIL**

(Continued)

organizations interested in fostering knowledge of the American heritage.

The Education for Freedom Program was brought to the 1,132 posts of Illinois on the Fourth of July and Flag Day. Approximately 110 additional meetings were covered by the Council's Freedom Car teams. About 60 large Legion Posts in Illinois now carry on the program.

The Jewish War Veterans have started an American Ideals Forum in the Chicago area, have demonstrated it before delegates from mid-western states and scheduled their twelfth local Forum. A leadership-training program has been conducted by the Council for AMVETS delegates from central states. The VFW is the most recent veterans' organization to adopt an American Heritage program in Illinois.

The Council has also set up a program for Illinois National Guard units, in cooperation with the Fifth Army, based on discussion of the Defense Department's documentary movies on American history.

Although the Council has concentrated on work with veterans' groups, its activity in public schools and unions has been extensive. Members of the Illinois State Bar Association, who participated in the American Heritage program set up by the Council last summer, have been active in starting Freedom Agenda groups. The manual the Council prepared for the Bar Association is being used by a number of local units of the League of Women Voters.

✓ **GENERAL WORK IN TELEVISION
AND RADIO****TOTAL EXPENDED: \$195,221**

This appropriation was granted (a) to explore the potentialities of commercial television as a medium for matters of interest to the Fund by commissioning "treatments," pilot films, etc. with a view to eventual production on commercial television; (b) to help networks or stations offer programs that might otherwise not be shown; (c) to encourage existing programs with funds for improved production or writing facilities or for extension of their usefulness by circulating kinescopes, scripts, etc.

The Fund has spent the major part of this appropriation on exploring and developing proposals in line with the first of these purposes.

TELEVISION AND RADIO

(Continued)

[*Challenge*: A project designed by Worthington Miner to be a network series of half-hour programs on current problems in civil liberties, presented in dramatic, fictional form.] With an experienced director, Sidney Lumet, two of the best known television writers, Rod Serling and Reginald Rose, and a professional cast, Mr. Miner made one pilot film on loyalty oaths. He then tried to interest commercial sponsors in the series. The film was shown to many people in industry, advertising and television. It was widely praised but the sales effort was a failure. The Fund now is distributing prints of the pilot film on a non-commercial basis.

[*Integration in St. Louis*: A film designed for television use is now being prepared. [It is a documentary version of how St. Louis successfully met the problem of desegregation of its schools.]

[*A Date with Liberty*: The television producing firm of Cassyd-Booth in Hollywood is preparing five pilot films for the Fund on subjects taken from Justice William O. Douglas' book, *An Almanac of Liberty*.] These are five-minute films which will usually feature a significant episode in one man's career—Alfred E. Smith's stand against loyalty oaths for teachers, a Senator's critical vote in Andrew Johnson's impeachment proceedings, etc. If the pilot films prove acceptable, commercial television use will be sought.

[*Al Capp*: Al Capp made a number of pilot films for a projected series of fifteen-minute commentaries on current events. The series was reluctantly abandoned because it proved impossible to arrive at a format acceptable to the producer and the Fund.]

Miscellaneous: Portions of this appropriation have been used to commission outlines or treatments of possible TV programs from several leading producers, writers and commentators working in professional TV. None of these efforts has materialized.

The Fund continues to distribute prints of Edward R. Murrow's "See It Now" interview with J. Robert Oppenheimer; it also gave limited distribution to five prints of Mr. Murrow's program on book censorship in California. The Fund provided funds to permit Paul Coates, West Coast

✓TELEVISION AND RADIO

(Continued)

television producer of the series, "Confidential File," to expand a television study of "Daytime Whites," Negroes who pass as whites during working hours because of job discrimination. The assistance of the Fund helped CBS-KNX News in Los Angeles to do a radio series on racial discrimination in Los Angeles called "Minority Report."

✓COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY
OF SAN FRANCISCO

TOTAL GRANTED: \$20,000

In July, 1955, the Council's Directors and staff made two successful pilot films with a small grant from the Fund's radio-television experimental appropriation. On the basis of this, the appropriation was approved by the Board in September, 1955.

The first program went on the air February 26, 1956. Edward Howden, Director of the Council, is the narrator of the show, called "Barrier." The format includes filmed portions, which take the viewer into the field to examine a problem of local interest in civil liberties, and a live portion, usually an interview with persons involved.

"Barrier" has appeared weekly since February 26, 1956. The station is KRON-TV, owned by the *San Francisco Chronicle*, an NBC outlet; the program appears at 2:30 p.m. Sundays.

The subjects have included the following: "Is There a Color Line in Bay Area Schools?" "The Electronic Eavesdropper," "Bay Area Housing Opportunity and the Minority Buyer," "The Oath," "Suburban Schism" and "Teenagers Tackle Civil Liberties."

AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE
— RADIO TAPE PROGRAM

TOTAL GRANTED: \$5,000

[This grant assisted the AFSC with its recorded programs for rural radio stations and school systems. The annual budget is \$13,000, and the Fund's contribution was earmarked for a certain number of programs devoted to civil liberties.]

[The AFSC programs feature Edwin Randall, who is in charge of the Friends radio division and has been broadcasting to rural and church audiences for many years.] Mr. Randall usually interviews American and foreign notables and comments on such topics as the need for international

RADIO TAPE PROGRAM

(Continued)

cooperation, constructive projects for underdeveloped areas, brotherhood, peace and freedom. These programs were requested by 283 stations for a total of more than 10,174 broadcasts. Some were sent to networks. Mr. Randall estimates that each broadcast (excluding network broadcasts) had an average audience of 25,000.

Thirty-nine universities and school boards have requested programs. Much of the material goes directly into the classrooms of both elementary and secondary schools.

✓ RECORDINGS FOR RADIO USE OF HEARINGS OF SUB-COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, U. S. SENATE

TOTAL EXPENDED: \$4,211

[The Fund financed a tape-recording of the hearings of the Senate Sub-Committee on Constitutional Rights, of which Senator Hennings was Chairman] After the entire proceedings were recorded, a series of thirteen 13½-minute summaries were made for use by radio stations.

Twenty stations in Missouri are using the series. Parts have been used on Minnesota stations. The Intercollegiate Broadcasting Company has distributed records to its member stations on college campuses. Several radio programs sponsored by labor unions have used various segments. Station WMCA in New York will use the entire series during the summer months. In addition, the Nationwide Insurance Company has said that it wants the recordings on three stations in Ohio, New Jersey and West Virginia. Among the organizations that have asked for tapes or records for discussion groups are the American Friends Service Committee, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, the Universalist Service Committee and the National Council of Churches of Christ.

✓ TELEVISION SERIES FEATURING HERBLOCK

TOTAL EXPENDED: \$46,541

On the basis of two pilot films prepared at the request of the Fund by Herbert L. Block ("Herblock"), cartoonist for the *Washington Post and Times-Herald* and many other newspapers, the Fund agreed to underwrite a proposed 26-week series of films for use on local television stations. The program, tentatively called "Herblock's Week," was to deal with current issues, emphasizing but not restricted to civil liberties matters.

✓ HERBLOCK TELEVISION SERIES

(Continued)

Mr. Block made the first two films in September, 1955. Distribution of the series to local TV stations was to start in October. But review of the first two films disclosed the impracticability of seeking to limit Mr. Block's field of discussion to the boundaries set by the charter of the Fund. In the words of a news release sent out by the Fund in October, 1955, the films "showed that his effectiveness as a news commentator would depend in large part on his complete freedom to discuss current issues and particular legislation."

The plan was therefore cancelled. The effort must be regarded as a failure, but not for reasons that reflect adversely on Mr. Block.

THE NEWSFILM PROJECT

TOTAL EXPENDED: \$65,383

In September, 1955, it was felt that results with television film clips provided under an experimental radio-television appropriation justified expanding a newsfilm service which the Fund began in California. [George Martin, west-coast NBC news producer, was engaged as director of the project.] He began work for the Fund in November.

[The project provides motion picture reports of events of interest in civil liberties or race relations to television and network news editors all over the U. S., at no cost, to be used at their discretion.] Use of these brief films can be taken as a measure of their quality and timeliness. The 30 clips released to date have reached an estimated audience of 55,581,000.

The project has distributed tape-recordings of stories covered to radio stations and networks. This service will be expanded.

✓ TELEVISION SCRIPT COMPETITION

TOTAL EXPENDED: \$59,799

This competition was designed to develop dramatic or documentary scripts dealing with the contemporary or historical role of civil liberties in America. Nineteen prizes were established for two categories of scripts: hour-long dramas and half-hour documentaries. First prize in each category was \$5,000. The jurors were Julien Bryan, Elmer Davis, Jacob Javits, Allan Nevins, Alex Segal (who later resigned), Eric Sevareid and Charles P. Taft.

✓ **TELEVISION SCRIPT**
(Continued)

The principal purpose of the competition was to have some of the scripts produced on commercial television. Despite efforts by the Fund and the authors' agents, the attempt was unsuccessful.

The competition received generous press attention, particularly after the announcement of the awards, but the project must be regarded as a failure.

✓ **NATIONAL CITIZENS COMMISSION
FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$35,000

This grant financed the production of 13 weekly radio discussions on issues facing the public schools. About one-third of the programs dealt with civil liberties; others were concerned with the history and philosophy of public education and with specific school problems. The programs were carried over some 175 stations on time made available to the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools by the American Broadcasting Company.

✓ **AUDIO BOOKS**
TOTAL EXPENDED: \$2,616

[The Fund entered into an agreement with the Audio Book Company to underwrite the cost of albums on topics agreed upon with Audio Books] The Fund's commitment on any album is limited.

After examining the documents which might be distributed in recorded form, the *Apology* and *Crito* of Plato were chosen for the first album. [The Audio Book Company engaged Thomas Mitchell to read the dialogues] and issued 5,000 copies of the finished album of three records in March, 1956.

✓ **ROBERT E. SHERWOOD
TELEVISION AWARDS**
TOTAL EXPENDED: \$17,937

The competition was designed to cover shows actually produced on television during the 1955-56 season. The Fund hoped to encourage the development of productions of highest professional distinction on themes of freedom and justice and to draw national attention to the best of them.

The competition ran from October 1, 1955 to May 31, 1956. Two prizes will be awarded for the best network dramatic production and the best network documentary pro-

✓ TELEVISION AWARDS

(Continued)

duction; an additional prize will be given for the best independent-station production in either category. Prizes will be shared by the director, writer and producer of the winning programs; in addition, plaques will be awarded to the network or station producing the winners.

After the death of Robert E. Sherwood (who was a Fund director) in November, 1955, the competition was named in his memory and the prizes were set at \$20,000 for each of the network categories and \$15,000 for the independent-station prize.

The jury for the awards consists of Kermit Bloomgarden, Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, Robert M. Purcell, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Gilbert Seldes, Robert Taft, Jr., Harrison Tweed and Philip H. Willkie.

The awards will be presented at a ceremony in New York on June 22.

In May, 1956, the Directors approved a continuation of the Awards for the 1956-57 television season.

✓ CIVIC AREAS COMMITTEE OF WAVERLY (IOWA) CHAMBER-OF-COMMERCE

TOTAL AWARDED: \$10,000

On March 30, 1955, the Fund presented an award of \$10,000 to the citizens of Waverly for the "hand of neighborly friendship" they extended to Captain Virgil Daniels and his family. The local Chamber of Commerce had taken the lead in finding decent housing for this Negro Air Force Captain who had encountered difficulty when he tried to move into an apartment project in Waverly.

The Civic Areas Committee has established an annual scholarship with the yearly interest on the \$10,000. A committee consisting of the Chairman of the Civic Areas Committee, the Superintendent of Schools and the President of the PTA will award the scholarship to a Waverly High School senior interested in study which will "further the cause of civil liberties and human rights." Qualifications will be "excellence in scholarship, character, need and sympathy toward the cause of civil liberties and human rights."

✓ PLYMOUTH MONTHLY MEETING

TOTAL AWARDED: \$5,000

Plymouth Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends (Quakers) received an award of \$5,000 from the Fund for

✓ **PLYMOUTH MEETING**

(Continued)

the "forthright stand in defense of individual freedom" involved in resisting local pressures to dismiss Mrs. Mary Knowles, librarian of the William Jeanes Memorial Library, who previously had pleaded the Fifth Amendment in a Congressional hearing but who had satisfied the library as to her qualifications.

The Meeting has placed the \$5,000 in escrow until, in accordance with Quaker principle, unanimity can be reached within the Meeting as to final disposition of the money.

The 276th Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends gave its support, in principle, to the stand taken by the Plymouth Monthly Meeting when it refused to dismiss the librarian. The Yearly Meeting's action came in the form of unanimous endorsement by 500 representatives of 93 local Meetings of the report of its Civil Liberties Committee.

✓ **SPECIAL AWARD TO THE
UNIVERSITY YWCA OF WESTWOOD,
CALIFORNIA**

TOTAL AWARDED: \$5,000

On March 23, 1955, the President of the Fund appeared for the Board to present this special award to the YWCA on the campus of The University of California at Los Angeles. The award was presented in recognition of the YWCA's contribution to freedom of speech and assembly by providing an open platform where all citizens are free to meet and debate.

✓ **SPECIAL AWARD TO THE YMCA
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT BERKELEY**

TOTAL AWARDED: \$5,000

On November 4, 1955, the Chairman appeared for the Board of the Fund to present a special award to Stiles Hall, the Berkeley branch of the YMCA, "in recognition of its service to the principle of equal opportunity for persons of all races and religions, and its open platform policy."

Paul McKaskle, student president of Stiles Hall, accepted the award. Harry Kingman made a brief speech of acceptance and explained the Stiles Hall program, for which he, as general secretary for 25 years, has been chiefly responsible. Clark Kerr, Chancellor of the University at Berkeley, introduced the Chairman and read a letter of congratulations to Stiles Hall from Robert G. Sproul, President of the University.

CONSPECTUS OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

TOTAL EXPENDED: \$10,000

[The Directors appropriated \$10,000 to support the completion of Robert E. Cushman's book, *National Security and the American Tradition*, and his preparation of an account of the state of civil liberties today, entitled *Civil Liberties in the United States: A Guide to Current Problems and Experience*.] The latter book describes the state of civil liberties at the close of World War II and summarizes the principal developments in the last decade.

Five thousand copies of a paperback edition have been printed by Cornell University Press for distribution by the Fund to the press, labor, educators, libraries, civic organizations, church groups and discussion groups. Several thousand copies of a cloth bound edition will be offered for sale through the usual commercial channels.

CIVIL LIBERTIES EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS WITH TRADE UNIONS

TOTAL EXPENDED: \$30,195

[This program, directed by Benjamin D. Segal, trade union consultant to the Fund, has aimed at helping unions carry on additional activities about civil liberties and civil rights.]

Conferences with union officials have led a number to inform their field staffs and local officers about the rights of members involved in the Industrial Security Program. Six major unions have taken such action.

Conferences on "Personnel Security Programs in Industry" were held in Washington and Los Angeles. Management, government and labor participated in these conferences. Similar conferences are planned for Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Seattle, Philadelphia, Cleveland, St. Louis and Greensboro.

An important educational activity is the summer institute for local union officers and shop stewards. In the summer of 1955, Mr. Segal prepared an outline, "Unions and Civil Liberties," which was used extensively at these institutes. A similar program will be undertaken this year. In addition, Mr. Segal helped organize some 25 week-end union conferences on civil liberties and civil rights.

In the last six months he has worked closely with the Director of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, which has responsibility for work in civil liberties. Some financial assistance was given to a study of the "Effects of the White Citizens Council on Union Activity in the South."

TRADE UNIONS

(Continued)

This summer the services of Frank P. Graham, former Senator, George Mitchell and others will be made available to southern union schools, to teach and speak about the Supreme Court's school decision and its significance for trade-union members. Part of the fees and travel expenses of these speakers will be met from the appropriation for the trade-union program.

✓ COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL ACTION OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

TOTAL GRANTED: \$20,000

This grant was made to aid the discussion of civil liberties among members of the Congregational Council for Social Action. The project, called "Christian Faith and Freedom," is now one of four main programs the Council for Social Action has recommended to Congregational churches for 1956-58.

Last summer the Council employed Dr. Frank Dorey, Associate Professor of Social Ethics and Sociology of Religion at Howard University, to prepare material. Two bibliographies on civil liberties were compiled by Dr. Dorey, to assist the staff of the Council and the leaders of the groups. Miss Fern Babcock, formerly program coordinator of the National Student YWCA, who joined the Council's staff in the fall, was given special responsibility for the project.

Announcements of the "Christian Faith and Freedom" program were sent to 10,000 pastors and committee members. Another 40,000 announcements will be distributed through local churches.

The Council has recommended that the churches hold four meetings to discuss these issues: "Christian Faith and Freedom," "Totalitarian Threats to American Freedom," "National Security and Personal Freedom," and "Freedom for Research and Teaching."

Twenty "Town Criers" have been selected and are now at work in 18 states, training leaders and publicizing the program. The Council's staff has conducted institutes in Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan, Oregon, and Washington and plans another 20 institutes for late 1956.

Four films to stimulate discussion are recommended: "Sound of a Stone," "What Price Freedom," "National Secur-

✓ **COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL ACTION.**
(Continued)

ity Versus Individual Freedom," and "Freedom to Learn." The films have been purchased for the film libraries of the denomination.

✓ **KENYON COLLEGE**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$25,000

[The Fund made this grant to underwrite in part the expenses of a four-day conference on the Essentials of Freedom at Kenyon.]

The conference will bring together many people who have been re-examining the ethical and political assumptions of liberty in order to determine whether they can agree on a statement about the essentials of freedom in contemporary society.

✓ **UNITED STATES
NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$3,000

The Fund's grant to the USNSA enabled the organization to prepare and distribute educational material in connection with an Academic Freedom celebration in colleges and universities throughout the country, April 9-16, 1956.

In February the USNSA sent out kits to student governments, college editors and deans of students. They contained Freedom Agenda booklets, bibliographical and other materials and suggestions for publicizing Academic Freedom Week. The staff of USNSA also has been compiling material for a booklet on "The Student's Relationship to Academic Freedom." During March, conferences were held in Cambridge, New York, Chicago and Los Angeles to guide the USNSA staff in the preparation of this booklet.

**THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ORDER -
NATIONAL ESSAY CONTEST
ON CIVIL LIBERTIES**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$19,300

[A national essay contest on "The Alert Citizen and Civil Liberties" for political science majors in all American colleges is being administered by the Institute of Social Order, which operates at St. Louis University under the auspices of the Jesuit Fathers. The contest is managed by Rev. Francis J. Corléy, S. J., editor of *Social Order*, a magazine published by the Institute.] The officials of the Institute will choose the judges, who will not be affiliated with it.

✓ **UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
SCHOOL OF LIBRARIANSHIP**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$36,000

The School of Librarianship, University of California, was given this grant to investigate the pressures affecting the selection and retention of books in libraries. An investigation will be carried on in California to discover the facts behind current reports and rumors about undue pressures on librarians.

Questions such as these will be considered:

1. Are there pressures on librarians that cause interference with impartial book selection; do librarians fail to buy otherwise desirable books because they have been told or advised not to, or because they fear somebody will object to them?
2. Are librarians removing books from circulation or from their shelves because of pressures exerted or because of fear that there may be objections?
3. If pressures exist, what are their sources?
4. Do librarians make a conscientious effort to provide books on all sides of controversial issues?
5. How many California libraries operate under an officially approved book selection policy?
6. What books on controversial subjects are in California libraries?

The study will include interviews with librarians, library and school board members, and school authorities. The collections of many libraries will be examined to determine whether opinion and practice agree.

The Executive Boards of the California Library Association and of the School Library Association of California have endorsed the study and expressed their support. The study, however, will be entirely under the control of the Faculty of the School of Librarianship.

**THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY,
BUREAU OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$15,000

[In August, 1955, the Fund received a request from the Bureau of Social Science Research of American University for a grant to permit the Bureau to analyze statistical material obtained from questionnaires circulated by the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Judiciary Committee (under the chairmanship of Senator Hennings).] These questionnaires were to be circulated by the Subcommittee in the course of an investigation of the present state of rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
(Continued)

X FELLOWSHIP AND
GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAM
TOTAL EXPENDED: \$204,546

The Bureau has completed analysis of a questionnaire circulated by the Sub-Committee on the religion clause of the First Amendment, and will soon complete its work on a questionnaire on freedom of speech and press.

[In November, 1954, the Fund established a program of fellowships and grants-in-aid.] It was agreed that the Officers should "find and assist people of mature judgment who are doing or who are qualified to do constructive work in areas of the Fund's interest."

[Prof. Robert E. Cushman of Cornell was appointed the Fund's consultant on the program.] He has passed on all fellowship applications.

[The program provides a means of exploring areas into which the Fund is not prepared to move on a large scale.] Rowland Watts' study of the problems involved in security screening of drafted servicemen has been the most widely publicized product of the program. An additional small grant was made to Mr. Watts for a follow-up survey of developments resulting from recent changes in army security regulations.

The results of two fellowships financed by the Fund have recently been embodied in books published without Fund support. The Free Press published Edward Shils' book *The Torment of Secrecy*, and the University of Chicago Press brought out Morton Grodzins' *The Loyal and the Disloyal*, which includes some of the results of Mr. Grodzins' work under a Fund fellowship.

Prof. Walter Cellhorn delivered a series of lectures at Louisiana State University in February, research for which was financed by a grant-in-aid. The lectures will soon be published by Louisiana State University Press.

Recipients

[Benjamin Aaron, University of California at Los Angeles, for a study of the impact of loyalty-security programs on unions.]

[Sir Gerald Barry, University of California at Los Angeles, to direct a series of weekly television seminars for television

FELLOWSHIP, GRANT-AID PROGRAM.

(Continued)

newscasters on television newscasting as related to civil liberties.]

[*Eleanor Bontecou, Arlington, Va.*, to assist in the preparation of a book on the opinions of Judge Henry Edgerton.]

✓ *Eleanor Bontecou, Arlington, Va.*, to permit her to finish a book for general sale entitled *The Price They Pay*, dealing with the loyalty-security program.

[*William C. Bradbury, University of Chicago*, for research on racial discrimination and desegregation in Federal government employment.]

✓ [*John W. Caughey, University of California at Los Angeles*, to complete a study of intellectual freedom in American colleges and universities since the close of World War II.]

[*James M. Dabbs, Mayesville, South Carolina*, to write a book on the South, with particular reference to the racial question.]

✓ *David Fellman, University of Wisconsin*, to write a non-technical book on the whole field of American civil liberties.

✓ *Lewis P. Fickett, Jr., Graduate School of Public Administration of Harvard University*, for research and writing of a thesis, "The Eisenhower Security Program: A Study in Public Policy."

[*James Fox, American University*, to do a study on the Virginia clergy and its stand on the desegregation issue.]

[*Ernesto Galarza, San Jose, California*, for a report on the civil and legal rights problems of Mexican contract workers in the Southwest.]

✓ *Walter Gellhorn, Columbia University*, for research costs incurred in preparing the 1956 Edward Douglass White lectures at Louisiana State University on administrative restraints on freedom of expression.

✓ *J. A. C. Grant, University of California at Los Angeles*, to complete a study on the "impact of federalism," dealing with "dual sovereignty" and the rights of persons accused of crime.

[*Jack Greenberg, New York City*, for a study of the legal status of the Negro in the United States.]

✓ *Morton Grodzins, University of Chicago*, for a study of the potential leadership of the extreme right and of the opposition to it.

FELLOWSHIP, GRANT-AID PROGRAM

(Continued)

[*Ralph Guzman, Alianza Hispano-Americana*, to investigate and report on cases handled by immigration authorities involving the loss of U. S. citizenship of Mexican-Americans.]

[*David Helfeld, University of Puerto Rico*, for a study of the use of political beliefs as a test in determining the status of aliens.]

[*John Herling, John Herling's Labor Letter*, for a study of civil liberties in the South, with emphasis on the possible restrictions on the freedom of speech and assembly of trade unions.]

[*Ellis J. Horvitz, Los Angeles, California*, for a comparative study of the personnel security procedures in some of the Western democracies.]

✓ [*Harold Hyman, Earlham College*, for *Loyalty in America*, the story of oaths and other efforts in American history to assure or measure loyalty.]

[*Marie Jahoda, New York University*, for a book on the psychological influences which contribute to conformity or non-conformity on civil liberty matters.]

✓ [*Charles F. Kellogg, Dickinson College*, to assist in the completion of a study of the NAACP.]

[*Rabbi Aaron Kirschenbaum, Jewish Theological Seminary of America*, for research costs incurred in preparing a source book on Biblical and rabbinical teachings as related to civil liberties and civil rights.]

✓ [*Milton R. Konvitz, Cornell University*, to complete a book, *First Amendment Freedoms*.]

✓ [*Robert A. Leflar, University of Arkansas*, to complete the first volume of a treatise on legal liability in the exercise of free speech.]

[*Herbert M. Levy, New York City*, to prepare a study on post-conviction remedies, entitled "Justice—After Trial—to Persons Convicted of Crime."]]

✓ [*David Loth, Piermont, New York*, for a report on the positive achievements in desegregation in the North.]

[*George McMillan, Aiken, South Carolina*, for a report on the extent of conformity in the community surrounding the Savannah River Atomic Energy Plant.]

[*Arthur S. Miller, Emory University*, for a study of the legal aspects of desegregating church schools in states where integration is resisted.]

FELLOWSHIP, GRANT-AID PROGRAM

(Continued)

✓ Clark F. Norton, DePauw University, for a study of loyalty-security measures employed by municipal governments in the north-central states.]

[James Peck, Beverly Hills, California, for a book dealing with the character of the Southerner as disclosed in recent events in Mississippi.]

[Arnold A. Rogow, State University of Iowa, for a study on the state of civil liberties in Iowa, with special reference to proposed loyalty oaths.]

[Victor G. Rosenblum, University of California, to prepare a paper or a series of articles on "The Constitutional Concept of State Action," in relation to due process and equal protection of the laws.]

[Dean Eugene V. Rostow, Yale Law School, to provide research assistance for an article on "Cases in Personnel Security."]

[Francis E. Rourke, Johns Hopkins University, for research costs involved in the preparation of an article or articles on "The Publicity Sanction and Civil Liberties."]

✓ Edwin Sanders, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee in Pasadena, to make a study of interference with religious freedom in California.

[Philip Selznick, University of California and Paul Jacobs, for a study of due process in industrial organizations, especially trade unions.]

— Edward Shils, University of Chicago, to permit him to complete a popular book for general sale on the loyalty-security problem, with emphasis on its application to scientists.

[Charles A. Siepmann, New York University, to finance a study of the organizational structure of the American Civil Liberties Union.]

✓ James M. Smith, Ohio State University, to enable him to complete *Freedom's Defense: The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions*.

✓ Malcolm Smith, University of California and Cornelius Cotter, Stanford University, for a research project on the extent and significance of emergency powers now vested in the President of the United States and other administrators.

FELLOWSHIP, GRANT-AID PROGRAM

(Continued)

[David Spitz, Ohio State University, for a book entitled *Democracy and the Tyranny of the Majority Rule*.]

✓ Rowland Watts, New York City, for a report on the practice of giving "undesirable" discharges to drafted servicemen on the basis of allegations regarding pre-induction activities or associations.

✓ Rowland Watts, New York City, for a short-term survey of the developments resulting from a recent change in the army security regulations.

DISTRIBUTION OF MATERIALS

TOTAL EXPENDED: \$113,554

[Except for two minor items distributed in small numbers (a pamphlet of Freedom House speeches and a reprint from the *Antioch Review*), the program of circulating civil liberties material began in November, 1954.]

The following list, grouped under subject headings, includes all the materials distributed under these appropriations. The list shows the number of copies circulated and the main audiences receiving them.

ON DUE PROCESS ✓ *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*

Special issue, April 1955. 25,000 copies to lists selected by publisher (clergy, law, press, etc.).

[*The Oppenheimer Case*

Book by Charles P. Curtis, published by Simon and Schuster. 500 copies to educators, business executives, lawyers.

✓ *Government by Investigation*

Book by Alan Barth, published by Viking Press. 850 copies to lists selected by publisher (press, civic leaders).

✓ *Grand Inquest*

Book by Telford Taylor, published by Simon and Schuster. 450 copies to the Federal Bench.

[*Current History*

Special issue, October, 1955. 5,000 copies to National Council for Social Studies members (1,500), political science professors (1,000), civic leaders, Freedom Agenda.

ON DUE PROCESS

(Continued)

✓ *National Security and Individual Freedom*

Book by John Lord O'Brian, published by Harvard University Press. 1,250 copies, chiefly to Harvard Law School Association members.

✓ *To Make Our Security System Secure*

Article by Vannevar Bush, reprinted from *The New York Times Magazine*. 10,000 copies, primarily to educators.

[*The Landy Case*

Article by George E. Sokolsky, reprinted from the *Saturday Review*. 50,000 copies to clergy (15,000), business executives (18,000), American Legion posts (8,500), military science professors (2,200).

[*The Way to Be Safe Is Never to Be Secure*

Article by Charles P. Curtis, reprinted from the *Saturday Review*. 5,000 copies to lawyers, civic organizations, clergy.

✓ *A Report on the Security Problem*

Statement by Hubert H. Humphrey, reprinted from the *Congressional Record*. 4,500 copies to lawyers, business executives, publishers, labor officials.

✓ *The Fifth Amendment Today*

Book by Erwin N. Griswold, published by Harvard University Press. 36,500 copies to members of New York City, Chicago and Los Angeles bar; American Law Institute, American Friends Service Committee, law and political science professors, League of Women Voters chapters, Freedom Agenda, labor officials.

✓ *Problems of the Fifth Amendment*

Article by C. Dickerman Williams, reprinted from *Fordham Law Review*. 1,100 copies to lawyers and press.

✓ *The Fifth Amendment and the Immunity Act of 1954*

Paper by Samuel H. Hofstadter, Justice of the New York State Supreme Court. 10,000 copies to lawyers, libraries, college presidents, chairmen of history and law departments and other educators.

[*The Law and the Future*

Article by Chief Justice Earl Warren, reprinted from

ON DUE PROCESS

(Continued)

Fortune. 35,000 copies to members of Chicago, St. Louis, New York City, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Milwaukee and Washington State bar; Freedom Agenda, YMCA, AMVETS, Anti-Defamation League, Federal Bar Association, labor officials, Congregational Christian Churches and other denominational groups.

~~[If You Are Arrested . . .~~

Pamphlet issued jointly by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and the New York Civil Liberties Union. 270 copies to six bar associations which requested them. [The distribution of this pamphlet did not have the effect that was hoped for; it did not stimulate other local organizations to follow the example of those in New York in interesting members in the problem of the rights of arrested persons.]

~~[The Birth of the Bill of Rights 1776-1791~~

Book by Robert Allen Rutland, published by University of North Carolina Press. 260 copies, primarily to college libraries.

~~[The Challenge of Law Reform~~

Book by Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Chief Justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, published by Princeton University Press. 1,000 copies of a special paper-back edition for distribution to lists selected by the publisher.

~~[Freedom of Inquiry vs. Authority: Some Legal Aspects~~

Lecture by Joseph O'Meara, Dean of Notre Dame University Law School. 25,000 copies to clergy, labor organizations, educators.

~~[Formation of the Massachusetts Constitution~~

Speech by Samuel Eliot Morison. Printing of 3,000 copies financed for distribution by the Massachusetts Bar Association to U. S. colleges and universities.

✓ ~~Faceless Informers and Our Schools~~

Pamphlet reprint of *Denver Post* articles and editorials. 25,000 copies distributed through state and local school board associations.

ON DUE PROCESS

(Continued)

✓ *The Kept Witnesses*

Article by Richard H. Rovere, reprinted from *Harper's*. 25,000 copies to business executives, labor officials.

ON EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

[*Open Occupancy Housing*

Reprint of article from *House and Home*.] 15,000 copies through National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and to others in race-relations field.

[*Memorandum on School Integration*

Prepared by National Civil Liberties Clearing House.] Printing of 2,000 copies financed for distribution through the Clearing House.

[*Prejudice and Your Child*

Book by Kenneth B. Clark,] published by Beacon Press. 290 copies through denominational groups.

[*The Strange Career of Jim Crow*

Book by C. Vann Woodward,] published by Oxford University Press. 200 copies, chiefly through Southern Regional Council.

[*The Fears Men Live By*

Book by Selma Hirsh,] published by Harper. 280 copies through denominational groups.

[*Citizen's Guide to De-Segregation*

Book by Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg,] published by Beacon Press. 160 copies through denominational groups.

[*Human Relations in Inter-Racial Housing*

Book by Wilner, Walkley and Cook,] published by University of Minnesota Press. 125 copies primarily through National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

[*Racial Integration in Public Housing Projects in Connecticut*

Booklet prepared by the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights.] Printing of 1,000 copies financed for distribution by the Commission.

ON EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

(Continued)

[*Annals*

Special issue on "Racial Desegregation and Integration," March 1956, of the quarterly journal of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.] 2,500 copies primarily through race-relations organizations.

[*The Segregation Decisions*

Pamphlet reprint of speeches by William Faulkner, Benjamin Mays and Cecil Sims before the Southern Historical Association.] Printing of 10,000 copies financed, 7,500 for distribution by the Association and the Southern Regional Council, 2,500 for distribution by the Fund chiefly to race-relations organizations.

ON FREEDOM OF SPEECH
AND BELIEF✓ *Banned Books*

Book by Anne Lyon Haight, published by R. R. Bowker and Co. 100 cloth-bound and 1,900 paper-back copies, to libraries and library trustees.

[*An Exhibition of Books Which Have Survived Fire, the Sword and the Censors*

Catalogue of an exhibition by the University of Kansas Library.] 20,000 copies to lists selected by the Library, including 10,000 members of the American Association of School Administrators, libraries, press.

[*Censorship Bulletin*

Quarterly publication of the American Book Publishers Council.] Financial assistance from the Fund has permitted increased circulation and improved format.

[*Obscenity and the Arts*

Special issue, Autumn 1955, of *Law and Contemporary Problems*, journal of Duke University Law School.] 930 copies, primarily to library trustees.

[*Tom Paine Talks Back to Providence*

Article by Henry Steele Commager.] reprinted from the *Saturday Review*. 10,000 copies to educators, lawyers, civic organizations, labor officials, United Christian Missionary Society and other denominational groups, Albany Board of Education.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH, BELIEF

(Continued)

[*The Development of Academic Freedom in the U.S.*

Book by Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, published by Columbia University Press. 1,000 copies to political science professors, directors and officials of civic organizations, state school superintendents.

[*The Freedom Reader*

Book edited by Edwin S. Newman, published by Oceana Publications. 5,000 copies to educators, press, Freedom Agenda, National Student Association.

[*On Liberty*

Book by John Stuart Mill, published by Great Books Foundation. Printing of 5,000 copies financed for possible use in the rooms of the Sheraton Hotel chain, starting experimentally with 500 copies in the Sheraton-Plaza in Boston.

✓ *To Insure the End of Our Hysteria*

Article by Paul G. Hoffman, reprinted from *The New York Times Magazine*. 10,000 copies; 5,000 distributed by Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, most of the balance by the American Dental Association.

[*Famous Words of Freedom*

Pamphlet issued by Freedom House. 50,000 copies to secondary school principals (18,000, through National Education Association), Church Peace Union members (13,000), advertising agency executives (5,000), National Student Association (1,000), American Unitarian Association, Methodist Mission Conference, labor groups.

[*This Thing Called Freedom*

Speech by David L. Shillinglaw, past commander of the Illinois Department of the American Legion, to Western College for Women, Oxford, Ohio. 5,000 copies distributed by the author and by Irving Breakstone (past Illinois Department Commander), Western College, Ohio and Chicago branches of ACLU, Illinois State Bar Association.

GENERAL

✓ *Cornell University Series in Civil Liberties*

Series of publications by the Cornell University Press under the editorship of Robert E. Cushman. Limited distribution of four volumes under a special appropriation.

GENERAL
(Continued)

[Profiles in Courage]

Book by Senator John F. Kennedy, published by Harper. 550 copies, primarily to Freedom Agenda chairmen.

✓ *Who Are Communists and Why?*

Department of Defense pamphlet. 50,000 copies for distribution primarily through organizations; 13,500 distributed to date by Freedom House, National Student Association, Congregational Christian Churches and other church groups, Veterans of Foreign Wars, YMCA, American Jewish Committee.

[Civil Liberties in the U.S.: A Guide to Current Problems and Experience]

Book by Robert E. Cushman, published by the Cornell University Press. Distribution of 5,000 copies to press, lawyers, civic leaders, Freedom Agenda, political scientists.

✓ *Who "Collaborated" With Russia?*

Article by Paul G. Willen, reprinted from the *Antioch Review*. 600 copies through National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

✓ *The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt*

Article by Richard Hofstadter, reprinted from the *American Scholar*. 25,000 copies to business executives (19,000), educators, clergy, lawyers.

✓ *Strong in Their Pride and Free*

Speech by Harry P. Cain, reprinted from the *Congressional Record* (as inserted by Senator Humphrey). 3,000 copies through National Civil Liberties Clearing House (1,000), labor unions (2,000).

[Freedom Award]

Speeches in booklet form at the annual Freedom House Award dinner (1954) by Lewis W. Douglas, Edward R. Murrow, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche and Whitney North Seymour. 600 copies through National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

[Social Science and Freedom]

Booklet of radio lectures held under the auspices of the Social Science Research Center of the University of Minne-

GENERAL
(Continued)

sota.] 20,000 copies to Freedom Agenda, the Research Center, Cooperative Forum, YM-YWCA, educators, clergy, businessmen.

[Clearing the Main Channels]

1955 Annual Report of the American Civil Liberties Union.] 10,000 copies: 4,000 to ACLU for specialized distribution; balance to Southern Regional Council, National Catholic Welfare Conference, YM-YWCA, lawyers, clergy, labor officials, civic organizations.

✓ **SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$28,600

This grant will support a two-year experimental program of student-faculty seminars on civil liberties and civil rights, and a related program of forums and research projects at Sarah Lawrence College, in Bronxville, Westchester County, New York.

The project, to begin in the fall, is both a campus and a community endeavor that will involve a number of civic organizations and groups of public-spirited citizens as well as faculty and students of Sarah Lawrence.

**CARTOON FEATURE,
"IT'S YOUR AMERICA"**
TOTAL EXPENDED: \$3,438

[A contract was signed with Special Features, Inc. to create a series of cartoon panels on the subject of American liberty, for free distribution to weekly and smaller daily newspapers which request the feature.] The contract is for a six-month period; the first mailing was sent out May 15, 1956 to newspapers.

AMERICAN TRADITION PROJECT
TOTAL EXPENDED: \$3,675

[In April, 1956, the Fund retained two journalists, Leo Rosten and Michael Harrington, to collect and publicize instances of the successful application of the Bill of Rights to present-day situations.]

✓ **POPULAR EDUCATION PROGRAM**
TOTAL EXPENDED: \$5,871

At their meeting in May, 1956, the Directors approved a program to publicize the work of grantees of the Fund. Mr. James Real was appointed director of the project.

4 TO MAINTAIN DUE PROCES
THAT UNDERLIE IT

ND THE PRINCIPLES

American Bar Foundation
Voluntary Defenders Committee, Inc.
Common Council for American Unity
Loyalty-Security Handbook
Case Studies of Loyalty-Security Programs
Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc.
Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc.
Blacklisting in Private Industry
Legal Service for Lawyers on Security Regulations
Grants to Local Bar Associations for Referral Services in Security Cases and Civil Liberties Matters
Generally, and for Other Educational Activities
Columbia University
Stanford University
Columbia University
University of Virginia
University of Pennsylvania

✓ **AMERICAN BAR FOUNDATION**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$25,430

[The first grant made by the Fund for the Republic was to the American Bar Foundation for the American Bar Association's Special Committee on Individual Rights as Affected by National Security,* under the chairmanship of Whitney North Seymour, of New York City. The Committee studied the procedures used by Congressional investigating committees.] Its findings were summed up in a 45-page report and an extensive appendix, submitted to the House of Delegates of the ABA at its meeting in August, 1954. The House of Delegates adopted the report, with two changes in a proposed Code of Investigative Procedure.

*The Committee members were: Frederick A. Ballard, James M. Douglas, Albert J. Harno, Ross L. Malone, Jr., Whitney North Seymour.

✓ **VOLUNTARY DEFENDERS
COMMITTEE, INC.**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$40,000

The Directors approved a one-year grant to the Voluntary Defenders Committee, Inc., of Boston, to aid in expanding its work with indigent criminal defendants. The Board approved \$35,000 for the first year and authorized an additional \$10,000 for educational work to encourage local support.

The Fund's grant has been used sparingly. Of the \$35,000, more than \$10,000 remains unspent after more than two years, and only \$5,000 of the \$10,000 authorized for educational expenses has been requested.

With Fund support, the Voluntary Defenders have been able to provide legal assistance to a larger number of defendants than would otherwise have been possible. They have also accumulated statistical information that should be useful to similar groups.

✓ **COMMON COUNCIL FOR
AMERICAN UNITY**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$47,500

The Common Council has been able to expand its legal representation of aliens considerably since the date of the Fund's first grant. It has handled more than 2,000 cases since January, 1953. Most of them do not involve any conflict between aliens and the Immigration Service but simply the processing of applications for administrative action (e.g., change of status).

With the funds made available by the second grant in May, 1955, the Council has begun an analysis of the cases handled.

5 TO MAINTAIN FREEDOM

OF SPEECH AND BELIEF

Columbia University Bicentennial Celebration
Study of Extremist Groups
Study of Fear in Education
American Library Association
National Book Committee
Commission on Mass Media
Association for Education in Journalism
University of Pennsylvania
Commission on Censorship and Related Matters
American Friends Service Committee
Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church
Public Information
Fund Bulletin

✓ **COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$43,943

The first of these grants financed the visit to this country of a group of distinguished scholars who took part in a two-day conference at the Association of the Bar of the City of New York on the topic, "Community Security versus Man's Right to Knowledge." The papers delivered at this conference were published in a special issue of the *Columbia Law Review*.

The Directors later approved a grant of \$40,000 to be used in the production of a documentary film, "Freedom to Read," a number of radio programs and a series of pamphlets based on the bicentennial theme—"Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof."

✓ **STUDY OF EXTREMIST GROUPS**
TOTAL EXPENDED: \$34,613
of which \$18,300 was granted
to Columbia University for the
Bureau of Applied Social Research

The Fund's first grant to the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia supported a "trial study" of a community under pressure from right-wing extremist groups and individuals. Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, was the village examined. A highly competent report resulted. Unfortunately, it provided no clues as to how the Fund might proceed to investigate the problem on a national scale.

The Bureau received a second grant in August, 1954 for a "study design." This action was taken on the ground that the Directors of the Fund needed the best guidance they could get in tackling a question full of difficult social and political questions.

The "study design" was received from Columbia in October, 1954. It suggested an extensive program of scholarly research. Possible costs ranged upwards to \$525,000. The Officers of the Fund regretfully informed the Bureau they could not recommend such an enterprise to their Board. The "design" and various alternative versions were considered by the Fund and abandoned.

An appropriation of \$100,000 by the Directors in November, 1954, was designated for programs that might be approved as a result of the work at Columbia and feasible suggestions from other sources. A number of different approaches to the question were then tried. But for one reason or another, none has proved satisfactory thus far. The staff is continuing its exploration but has nothing but failure to report up to the present time.

✓ **STUDY OF EXTREMIST GROUPS**
(Continued)

Some of the papers prepared at Columbia on which the "study design" was based have been published in technical journals, have appeared in *The New American Right*, edited by Daniel Bell, and have otherwise been given considerable circulation. In addition the Fund has made these studies available to a large number of people and institutions interested in this subject.

✓ **STUDY OF FEAR IN EDUCATION**
TOTAL EXPENDED: \$149,134

This project was placed under the direction of Prof. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University. Mr. Lazarsfeld obtained the services of Louis Harris as co-director.

Their study is based on interviews with 2,500 members of social science faculties in 165 accredited colleges, excluding schools of business administration but including teachers' colleges.

Interviews were conducted by a selected group of interviewers from two organizations: The National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago, and Elmo Roper and Associates. The field work was done under the supervision of Mr. Harris. The statistical analysis was carried out by Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research under the direction of Mr. Lazarsfeld.

In order to get a clear picture of what went on in the course of the interviews, Prof. David Riesman, of the University of Chicago, traveled to about 40 colleges and talked with professors as well as interviewers on their reactions to the field work. Respondents were encouraged to make free comments, qualifying their answers and volunteering additional information. This qualitative material is being subjected to special study.

✓ **AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$12,000

✓ The Newsletter distributed by the Intellectual Freedom Committee of the American Library Association is a valuable source of information about censorship and attacks on intellectual and academic freedom. The Fund's grant was designed to enlarge its circulation, to help pay for reprints dis-

✓ AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION
(Continued)

tributed by the Intellectual Freedom Committee, and to cover part-time salary and travel expenses.]

The grant made possible a marked improvement in the coverage of the Newsletter. The bulletin was transferred from a paid to free circulation basis. By 1956 its circulation had gone from 500 to more than 5,000. In March, 1956 the Fund made a terminal grant for the continuation of the Newsletter and related Committee operations.

✓ NATIONAL BOOK COMMITTEE
TOTAL GRANTED: \$9,000

The executive committee of the National Book Committee requested financial support for an exploratory study of the limits of free expression. It was undertaken by Professors Richard McKeon, of the University of Chicago, and Robert K. Merton and Walter Gellhorn, both of Columbia, with the assistance of Charles G. Bolté, Executive Director of the National Book Committee.

The study has been completed and submitted to the Freedom to Read subcommittee of the National Book Committee. In addition to an extensive analysis of the theories of censorship and freedom to read, the report contains specific proposals for further research and action.

COMMISSION ON MASS MEDIA
TOTAL EXPENDED: \$4,442

[The Fund explored the feasibility of establishing an independent agency which would report annually on the performance of the press and other mass media.] As a first step, a number of publishers, editors and newspaper columnists in the eastern, central and southern states were consulted by letter and personal interview. Mr. Marcus Cunliffe, of the University of Manchester, was asked to prepare a report for the Fund on the British Press Council, and Dr. Kurt Samuelson, of the *Dagens Nyheter* of Stockholm, was commissioned to report on the experience of the Swedish Press Fair Practices Board. The Fund later distributed their reports to interested persons in this country.]

✓ **ASSOCIATION FOR EDUCATION
IN JOURNALISM**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$50,000

Norman E. Isaacs, of the *Louisville Times*, chairman of the Committee on Ethics and News Objectivity of Sigma Delta Chi, requested a grant to study a plan for surveying the performance of the press during the 1956 Presidential campaign. In view of the plans for a broader approach to the problems of press responsibility, as described above, this request was turned down. The response to the Fund's preliminary soundings among publishers and editors with regard to this broader approach was, however, generally negative, and in September the Sigma Delta Chi request was reconsidered.

At an informal meeting of editors, publishers and writers held at the Fund's offices it was the consensus that the Fund should support the Sigma Delta Chi study and await the outcome of that work before taking further action. The Directors of the Fund considered the suggestion favorably. At their next meeting they approved a grant of \$5,000 to the Association for Education in Journalism for this purpose.

The AEJ study (made under the direction of Raymond B. Nixon) concluded that an objective study of press performance during the 1956 election was practicable. When Mr. Isaacs submitted the plan to leading editors and publishers, however, he found too little support to justify going ahead, and the project was abandoned. Later Mr. Nixon submitted various proposals to the Fund for studies of press performance on a smaller scale. As a result, the Directors authorized a grant of \$45,000 to the Association for Education in Journalism to finance a study of the press treatment of civil liberties, to be conducted after the 1956 Presidential election.

✓ **UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$32,400

A grant was made to the University for the services of the Law School's Institute of Legal Research for a study of the methods by which the U.S. Government intercepts and impounds "obscene" publications, "foreign political propaganda" and other non-mailable matter. The Institute established an advisory committee for the study, consisting of:

Mrs. Edward Macy, immediate past president of the National Board of the YWCA; Erwin D. Canham, editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*; Charles Horsky, Washington attorney and

✓ UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

(Continued)

author of *The Washington Lawyer*; Henry Brandis, Jr., Dean of the University of North Carolina Law School; Prof. Stephen K. Bailey, Woodrow Wilson School of Public Affairs at Princeton University.

Prof. James C. N. Paul, Director of the Institute, and Murray L. Schwartz, former Deputy City Solicitor of Philadelphia, are in charge of the study.

Field studies in the administration of the obscenity statutes have covered the operations of the Post Office Department and the Bureau of Customs in Washington, D. C., Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Minneapolis-St. Paul and Chicago.

The staff has studied seizures of alleged obscene materials that have been transmitted to the Library of Congress by the Bureau of Customs. Considerable time has been devoted to a study of the legislative history and origins of the postal and tariff obscenity statutes, including examination of unpublished material in the archives.

Individuals who have had experience with the administration of restraints on obscenity—publishers, booksellers, librarians, movie distributors and lawyers—have been consulted. Professor Paul and his associates intend to interview U.S. Attorneys in a number of large cities.

The project members have also canvassed librarians, scholars and importers to collect data on their experience with the administration of the "foreign political propaganda" restraints. Conferences have been held in Washington with Treasury and Customs officials responsible for the administration of regulations concerning foreign political propaganda. Professor Paul conducted a field study of these operations at the Port of New York.

✓ COMMISSION ON CENSORSHIP
AND RELATED MATTERS

TOTAL EXPENDED: \$4,621

This appropriation was made for conferences, travel and working papers necessary to determine the need for a Commission that would be wholly devoted to the question of censorship of the printed word.

In June, 1955, J. Russell Wiggins, Executive Editor of the *Washington Post and Times-Herald*, formed a temporary

✓ **COMMISSION ON CENSORSHIP**

(Continued)

steering committee representing book publishers, newspapers, libraries, the law and science. The first meeting reached the conclusion that large-scale treatment of censorship of the printed word ought to be carefully examined. Discussions among the group and with the Fund proceeded during the summer.

On October 1, the Committee retained Prof. John R. Thompson, of the Yale Law School, as staff executive to set up a second meeting. At the meeting on December 9, 1955, which was attended by many of those present at the first meeting, plus other representatives from newspapers, magazines and law schools, the following conclusions were reached: the need for a national effort to combat censorship of the printed word is apparent; a national library devoted to censorship problems should be established at an existing law school library; continuing research, coordinated with the library, could perform a great public service; a campaign of public information should be undertaken but should proceed on a gradual basis for at least the first year of the Commission's life; the Commission would require an annual budget of approximately \$100,000.

Despite these conclusions, the final judgment of the Committee was that such a national Commission should not be set up under the auspices of a foundation. The major reason was that such a Commission should include among its primary purposes a "pursuit of state and federal legislative remedies for present obstacles to the right to know . . . and open and frank agitation, support and propaganda for the right to know." The Committee felt that this could not be done under the auspices of a tax-exempt organization.

✓ **AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE****TOTAL GRANTED: \$150,000**

This grant was for the support of the Rights of Conscience Program of the American Friends Service Committee for the purpose of fair trial and adequate counsel. The Rights of Conscience Committee has considered some 60 applications for assistance and provided assistance in more than 20 cases. The Committee consists of six lawyers and eight laymen. Mr. Fred Fuges, a member of the Philadelphia Bar, is the principal staff member.

✓ **BOARD OF SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC RELATIONS
OF THE METHODIST CHURCH**
TOTAL GRANTED: \$12,500

This grant was made for a study of "The Social Movements in the Methodist Church." Final plans will be worked out at a meeting of the Research Council of the University, to be held shortly.

✓ **PUBLIC INFORMATION**
TOTAL EXPENDED: \$33,907

[This sum was spent to acquaint the public with the work of the Fund.] It financed spot radio announcements offering to send listeners the annual report of the Fund, an advertisement in the *American Legion Magazine*, fact leaflets, press releases, etc.

FUND BULLETIN
TOTAL EXPENDED: \$6,890

[In March, 1956, the Directors authorized periodic publication of a Bulletin to acquaint the general public with the Fund and the work undertaken by Fund grantees.] The first issue was published in May.

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
President

THE FUND FOR THE

STATEMENT OF ASSETS, LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE

as of September 30, 1955
(examined by independent
certified public accountants)
and May 31, 1956
(not examined by independent
certified public accountants)

| ASSETS: | Sep. 30, 1955 | May 31, 1956 |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|
| Cash in bank and on hand | \$ 72,735 | \$ 25,501 |
| Investments in United States Govern- ment and other bonds, at cost (at market quotations, \$11,654,420 and \$9,885,827, respectively) | 11,890,903 | 10,165,870 |
| Accrued interest on investments | 77,073 | 69,686 |
| Deposits, advances and prepayments | <u>21,466</u> | <u>20,671</u> |
| | <u>\$12,062,177</u> | <u>\$10,281,728</u> |

LIABILITIES and FUND BALANCE:

| | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Accounts payable | \$ 83,273 | \$ 55,583 |
| Fund balance (note) | <u>11,978,904</u> | <u>10,226,145</u> |
| | <u>\$12,062,177</u> | <u>\$10,281,728</u> |

Note: At September 30, 1955 and May 31, 1956, contingent appropriations for grants totaling \$445,000 and \$377,000, respectively, have been made by the Board of Directors, which are payable upon the fulfillment of certain conditions; at September 30, 1955 and May 31, 1956 such grants had not been paid. The Board of Directors authorized at September 30, 1955 and May 31, 1956 expenditures for uncompleted projects administered by the Fund of \$2,934,050 and \$3,026,600, respectively, of which amounts \$1,732,116 and \$1,446,118 remained unexpended at those dates.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

TOTAL GRANTED: \$3,500

[This grant was made to the University of Virginia for summer research by third-year law students on civil liberties topics in the field of municipal law, under the joint sponsorship of the Law School and the Committee on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties of the Municipal Law Section of the American Bar Association.]

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

TOTAL GRANTED: \$5,610

[This grant will support a summer research program in selected civil liberties topics in the University of Pennsylvania Law School's Institute of Legal Research.] Field work is to be stressed. [The program is designed "to develop interest, appreciation, and competence . . . with respect to current civil liberties problems."] A spokesman for the Law School points out that "by doing interesting work on 'live,' controversial problems in this area, the student may realize not only an increased knowledge of the law, but also an increased awareness of the special contribution which he, as a lawyer, can make to the discussion and solution of these problems."

Suggested projects include studies of police regulation of speech and the distribution of non-commercial literature on city streets and in city parks, access to governmental proceedings and records in the Philadelphia area, enforcement of movie censorship in Pennsylvania and local censorship of books and magazines.

GRANTS TO LOCAL BAR ASSOCIATIONS

(Continued)

the Toledo Bar Association as a companion grant to that made for the defense of security cases.

As a further experiment in attempting to interest local bar associations in civil liberties activities, the Board, in February, 1956, agreed to broaden the purposes for which grants could be made to local bar groups, to include use of funds for educational activities. The Toledo group has undertaken such activities as a mock security trial presented before local civic groups and forums on civil liberties topics addressed by out-of-town speakers.

✓ COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

TOTAL GRANTED: \$10,000

This grant was authorized for a pilot study of tenure law and practice. Under the general direction of the American Academic Freedom Project at Columbia, the study is being conducted by Prof. Clark Byse, of the University of Pennsylvania, and Louis Joughin, Assistant Director of the American Civil Liberties Union. The study will deal with the laws and practices governing tenure in colleges and universities in California, Illinois and Pennsylvania. It is expected that a report will be ready for publication during the summer of 1956.

✓ STANFORD UNIVERSITY

TOTAL GRANTED: \$5,000

These grants were made to permit the law reviews of Columbia and Stanford Universities to undertake field work in connection with the publication of student research projects on civil-liberties topics.

✓ COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

TOTAL GRANTED: \$1,670

The *Stanford Law Review* study, published in its March, 1956 issue, explored the actual operations of the industrial security program at selected plants in California.

✓ The *Columbia Law Review* study, on the legal situation of U. S. soldiers accused of giving aid and comfort to the enemy while prisoners of war, appeared in the May, 1956 issue. A foreword by Major George S. Prugh, Jr., and an article by Carter L. Burgess, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel, accompanied the student study.

✓COMMON COUNCIL

(Continued)

Part of the grant has been used to employ the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia to assist in this work.

The report from Columbia is expected by mid-June, 1956. The Council hopes to complete its analysis by autumn. Read Lewis, Executive Director of the Council, summarizes the study this way: "Our cases fall into six categories: immigration, deportation, non-immigrant arrivals, status, naturalization and nationality. It is too early, of course, to report findings, but our cases will show, quite objectively and without regard to the conflicting claims and criticisms frequently advanced, how some of the provisions of existing law actually work."

✓LOYALTY-SECURITY PROJECTS

TOTAL EXPENDED: \$192,710

of which \$100,000 was made as a grant to the

Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc.

✓LOYALTY-SECURITY HANDBOOK

In anticipation of the establishment of a study of the Federal Loyalty-Security Program, the Fund asked Prof. Ralph S. Brown, Jr., of Yale Law School, to prepare a handbook summarizing the existing laws and regulations under the Federal Personnel Security System. Under Mr. Brown's direction the handbook was prepared by Miss Sandra Weinstein, a recent graduate of the Yale Law School. Five hundred copies were distributed.

✓CASE STUDIES OF LOYALTY-SECURITY PROGRAMS

In order to provide factual materials which would assist the study of the Federal Loyalty-Security Program, the Fund requested Adam Yarmolinsky, then practicing law in Washington, to collect accounts of a number of cases arising under the various federal plans. Lawyers recruited on a part-time basis from leading law firms in major cities began to collect cases in December, 1954. They approached the lawyers who had advised or represented employees, and obtained access to their files, which consisted primarily of the statement of charges, the employee's written response and the transcript of the hearing. These were either summarized or reproduced *verbatim* in the case reports. No attempt was made to select cases, but all those which could be located during the period of the study were assembled. In February, 1955, when it be-

✓ **CASE STUDIES: LOYALTY-SECURITY**
(Continued)

came apparent that more materials were available than had first been supposed, the scope of the study was expanded from 100 to 350 cases.

In July, 1955 a collection of 50 cases was published by the Bureau of National Affairs. At the time of publication it was pointed out that these accounts necessarily excluded any consideration of the classified material in government files that was not made available to the employees or their counsel.

Ten thousand copies were printed. The publication received widespread attention in the press and aroused lively interest across the nation.

The collection of 350 cases was completed in the fall of 1955 and turned over to the Special Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, together with statistical tabulations.

✓ **ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK FUND, INC.**

The Fund made this grant to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., in the fall of 1954 for a study by a special committee on the Federal Loyalty-Security Program. Dudley B. Bonsal of the New York Bar is chairman of the committee. Other members are: Henry J. Friendly, Harold M. Kennedy, George Roberts and Whitney North Seymour, all of New York City; Richard Bentley of Chicago; Frederick M. Bradley of Washington, D. C.; Monte M. Lemann of New Orleans; and John O'Melveny of Los Angeles.

The Committee engaged a staff consisting of Professor Elliott E. Cheatham, of the Columbia Law School, Director; Professor Jerre S. Williams, of the University of Texas Law School, Associate Director; and John R. Miller and John Carey, as consultants. The Committee and staff have been at work since the summer of 1955. The Committee has held many meetings and interviewed government officials, private lawyers and students of the security system. The Committee will release its report in book form during the summer of 1956:

✓ **ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK FUND, INC.**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$20,000

[This grant was made in response to a joint request from the National Legal Aid Association and the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., for assistance in undertaking a study of representation of indigent defendants in criminal cases. The Special Committee to Study Defender

ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR

(Continued)

Systems was organized under the chairmanship of Robert B. von Mehren, of the New York law firm of Debevoise, Plimpton & McLean.

The Committee has employed Kenneth R. Frankl, a former New York Assistant District Attorney, as Director, and Arnold S. Trebach as Consultant. Mr. Trebach recently completed an investigation of the operation of the New-Jersey-assigned counsel system for the Administrative Office of the Courts of New Jersey.

At its first meeting the Committee planned a series of studies to exemplify three defender systems: the assigned counsel system, the voluntary defender system and the public defender system. Mr. Frankl has investigated the operations of the Philadelphia Voluntary Defender Association and the Chicago Public Defender System.

It is expected that the Committee's work will be completed by the end of 1956.

BLACKLISTING IN PRIVATE INDUSTRY

TOTAL EXPENDED: \$127,482,
of which \$16,775 was made as a grant
to New York University

The Directors authorized an appropriation for a report on "blacklisting in motion pictures, radio and television" in September, 1954.

John Cogley, Executive Editor of *The Commonwealth*, was appointed director of the project. For eight months, a staff of ten researchers and reporters gathered facts and interviewed some two hundred persons on both coasts who had personal knowledge of the situation. Mr. Cogley personally interviewed representatives of all the major interests concerned.

Three special investigations were commissioned: a study of the legal aspects of the problem, by Harold W. Horowitz, of the University of Southern California Law School; "Anti-Communism and Employment Policies in Radio and Television: A Study of Film Content," by Dorothy B. Jones, who has done similar research for the Motion Picture Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Office of War Information, and a number of motion picture companies; and "Anti-Communism and Employment Policies in Radio and Television: A Study of Morale," by Marie Jahoda, of the Research Center for Human Relations, New York University. The conclusions reached in these studies were included in Mr. Cogley's final report, which will be published by the Fund in June, 1956.

**LEGAL SERVICE FOR LAWYERS
ON SECURITY REGULATIONS**

TOTAL EXPENDED: \$18,300

[In February, 1955 the Fund entered into an agreement with the Bureau of National Affairs to purchase at cost 100 copies of a proposed looseleaf service for lawyers on government security and loyalty programs, and to underwrite the cost of an additional 600 copies.]

The service was prepared by the staff of the Bureau of National Affairs. [Nathan H. David and John Green, Washington lawyers, served as consultants to the Bureau for this purpose.] The service was put on the market in August, 1955; periodic supplements have been issued since that date. It covers the government personnel security program, the industrial security program, the international-organization employees' loyalty program, the port security program, and the regulations governing issuance of passports. It includes statutes, administrative regulations, decisions of courts and administrative tribunals, sample forms and explanatory text.

**GRANTS TO
LOCAL BAR ASSOCIATIONS/
FOR REFERRAL SERVICES IN
SECURITY CASES AND
CIVIL LIBERTIES MATTERS
GENERALLY, AND FOR
OTHER EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES**

TOTAL GRANTED: \$30,000

[In February, 1955 the Board of the Fund appropriated \$5,000 for a grant to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., to undertake an experimental program of representation for defendants in civil liberties cases, through the Association's Committee on Legal Aid.] These funds were used to provide counsel for defendants who could not afford competent representation.

To meet what then appeared to be a pressing need for legal representation in security cases throughout the country, further grants were authorized to enable local bar associations to support legal referral services. [Only two grants were made from this appropriation, one of \$15,000 to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., the other to the Toledo Bar Association, in the amount of \$5,000.] By the time other bar associations were prepared to submit requests, the peak load of cases had apparently passed; representation for security defendants in administrative proceedings was no longer a substantial problem in most areas.

[The Fund discovered that lawyers in several cities were interested in undertaking civil liberties cases and concluded that grants to local bar associations along the lines contemplated for security cases might stimulate activity in a wider field. So far only one such grant has materialized, \$5,000 to

REPUBLIC, INC.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS, GRANTS AND EXPENSES

for the period from December 9, 1952
(date of Incorporation)
to September 30, 1955
(examined by Independent
certified public accountants),
and October 1, 1955 to May 31, 1956
(not examined by
Independent certified public accountants)

| | Dec. 9, 1952 to Sep. 30, 1955 | Oct. 1, 1955 to May 31, 1956 | Total |
|--|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Receipts:</i> | | | |
| Grant from the Ford Foundation | \$15,000,000 | | \$15,000,000 |
| Interest earned on investments | 533,060 | \$ 184,346 | 717,406 |
| Loss on disposition of securities | 53,669* | 24,300* | 77,969* |
| Contributions received | 904 | 5 | 909 |
| | <u>\$15,480,295</u> | <u>\$ 160,051</u> | <u>\$15,640,346</u> |
| <i>Grants and expenses:</i> | | | |
| Grants | \$ 1,451,753 | \$ 795,095 | \$ 2,246,848 |
| Projects | 1,043,008 | 667,776 | 1,710,784 |
| Program development | 132,721 | 49,792 | 182,513 |
| Administrative expenses: | | | |
| Compensation and employee benefits | 543,393 | 225,481 | 768,874 |
| Travel | 44,856 | 28,997 | 73,853 |
| Legal and accounting fees | 89,150 | 53,515 | 142,665 |
| Public information | 15,173 | 18,734 | 33,907 |
| Conferences and meetings | 5,912 | 5,193 | 11,105 |
| Rent | 46,106 | 21,989 | 68,095 |
| Office expense | 56,934 | 37,756 | 94,690 |
| Purchase of equipment and leasehold improvements | 66,847 | 6,537 | 73,384 |
| Other | 5,538 | 1,945 | 7,483 |
| | <u>\$ 3,501,391</u> | <u>\$1,912,810</u> | <u>\$ 5,414,201</u> |
| Excess (deficiency) of receipts over grants and expenses | <u>\$11,978,904</u> | <u>(\$1,752,759)</u> | <u>\$10,226,145</u> |

*Indicates red figure.

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